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773 574 [345] [554] demigods who are believed to have stablished the institution of building a feast house. As this couple were in the feast house during the fight, it may be assumed that they were, in a ritual sense, the feast-givers. A modern feast also always has a person occupying the office of feast leader who is charged with the ritual as well as the organisational tasks of the feast. This leader (*pondo kiari embo*) is a man acting alone, and there is no mention that his wife has any function. This is a curious discrepancy between myth and custom, especially as elsewhere in New Guinea the feast-givers are often an elderly couple (e.g. Landtman 1927).

773 574 787 I was told that the people of Hamburata, before holding a feast, always consult the stone mentioned in this tale. When the wind blows through it, it makes a whistling sound, and is the sign that a feast may be held. This may be regarded as part of the ritual precautions necessary to ensure that a feast will be successful, but it is a purely local custom. The rule that a feast may not be held in hungry times is quoted and observed by all Orokaiva informants, of whatever locality. For the purpose of my analysis it is more important than the rule concerning the stone.

773 574 This tale resembles the one previously quoted in that both are concerned with a quarrel (*isoro*). The affair at the feast was not just an ebullient sham fight (*embogo*), but a serious battle, as the term *isoro* implies. But the messages of the two myths differ, in fact they seem to contradict each other. The message of the feasting myth may be summed up as follows:

1. In original time, men might hold some kind of feast at any time, but since the days of Jomiko and Sirere such permanent amity was no longer permitted. The *isoro* ended it.
2. Feasting was henceforth permitted only after special precautions had been taken and special permission obtained from the demigod. It had become an exceptional event, for which a special feast house had to be built.
3. The main criterion for the appropriateness of a feast was abundance of food.
4. A feast could be permitted only if perfect peace reigned among the guests. If the guests quarrelled the demigod's spirit would at once depart and the feast would be ritually void or even calamitous.

773 574 728 While the *isoro* was mentioned in the myth of the stolen lashing leads to a permanent state of war, the *isoro* in the feasting myth leads only to a restriction on the occasions when feasts may properly be held, and a rule to keep the peace for the feast's duration. How can these two apparently discrepant ideas about the nature of *isoro* be reconciled? My Orokaiva informants considered the two myths as stating different aspects of the same principle. Certainly *isoro* is (or used to be, before the Australians came) an expression of mutual anger that will never end. But it may be briefly interrupted, and it is good that from time to time the anger should cease and that men should then come together for a common feast.

Williams describes these interruptions exremely well:

> The lively monotony of warfare was broken by intervals of peace. A truce-making was called *peka*, and the first emissaries were women who, born members of one tribe, had married into or been captured by the

177 657 [789] Christ and perhaps other supreme sources of which they have no knowledge, but these ultimate sources mostly seem inaccessible to the Orokaiva; the people know their information to be poor and unreliable. Nonetheless, as the councillor from Hohorita remarked, it has been found by experience that the gifts deriving from the government have often been good ones. The relationship is therefore worth maintaining as it may produce further valuable gifts in the future. (This widely held opinion, incidentally, is the bane of Papuan progressives, who are pressing for immediate independence of the Territory from Australian rule).

Although, in an attempt to make my meaning clear, I have spoken of the magic of 'development', it is important to point out that the term 'development' has not been borrowed, to my knowledge, in Orokaiva speech. The Orokaiva term is *iji eha* (the new day), a phrase occurring, for instance, in the passage quoted from Councillor Ase's address. The *iji eha* has come about, as we have seen, as the result of the gifts of a new *dema*, Jesus Christ. One of these gifts was a permanent peace, to replace the permanent state of *isoro* of earlier days. But this gift was accompanied by new commandments. Councillor Ase emphasised the casual connection between the gift and the commandments: 'As a new day has now arrived (*oroho evi iji eha avo eto*,), I tell you to be united.' Like *isoro*, so the *iji eha* requires unity, but for the sake of struggles of a different kind: the building of a new village, the growing of coffee and rubber, the support of school education. The commandments of the *iji eha* are in effect community development.

177 657 797 It may thus be said without hyperbole that community development among the Orokaiva has a mythological charter – namely, the Christian religion as the Orokaiva understand it. It acts as a mediating element between the Orokaiva and the European power-bearers: it is the magic whereby a relation of social exchange may be established between the former and the latter and whereby the Orokaiva may eventually become the equals of the white man in wealth and power.

177 657 623 But the second mediating element in this relationship is the councillors, through whom the government's information must pass to reach the people. They do not play the role of leaders but of mediators in a rather limited sense. In their contact with the government (mainly confined to contact with the advisory officer to the council), they receive information and hear council decisions in the formulation of which they generally have no part. The flow of information tends to be from the government to the councillors rather than in the reverse direction. This one-sidedness suits both parties, but especially the councillors, who gain little but may lose much by adding to the government's knowledge. At the village level, the councillor tends to become the chief mouthpiece of the *iji eha*. He is expected to report faithfully, and in detail, what he has heard from the government. His advice will be asked on matters related to council activities, but most of the time it is the councillor himself who takes the initiative and harangues the villagers. He does not expect all his advice to be accepted; he may even have private doubts about some of what he is [191] transmitting. A Sivepe ex-councillor even had the habit of reporting on all council matters in Motu, a *lingua franca* used at council meetings because the advisory officer does not know Orokaiva. Most Sivepe people understand some [554] Motu. By speaking in Motu to his fellow-villagers, the councillor built up his own

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status while at the same time establishing some distance between his official performance and his private self. Even when a councillor does not resort to so extreme a device, his role is a highly formalised one, as the values underlying his message are very strange to him. The *iji eha*, as communicated at the council meeting, is almost outside his mental grasp. He has heard the details but cannot see the pattern. (The council meetings are not suited to the communication of the complex patterns of Western civilisation.) Fortunately his audience is usually warm and sympathetic to his message and shares with him the mood, the 'feeling' of the *iji eha*, if little else.

4. *The New Day, the Mission and Divine Retribution*

Relationships with the mission in the Northern District have usually been of two main types. When a mission station was first established, exchange relations between Orokaiva and the station began immediately. The mission offered schooling, medical services and largesse of various sorts. The Orokaiva offered land and labour. These were direct exchanges requiring no mediating elements. The mission was usually in no great hurry to begin baptising converts, preferring to let interested persons rise gradually from the status of hearer to catechist and conferring baptism some years later. Although coastal stations were established around the turn of the century, it was only after the Second World War, when a considerable number of stations and outstations were established inland, that the majority of Orokaiva came within reach of mission influence. The Sasembata station[5] serving Sivepe was not opened until 1945 and had no baptisms until 1953. The bulk of the population of that village was converted between 1953 and 1964.

It was then that the second, and more complex, phase of the relationship started. In the first phase there had been a great deal of contact between people and mission station, especially because of the educational services that were offered, but it was only in the second phase that these contacts became religiously significant. We may express the emerging relationship in the following diagram:

MODEL 8

Although this exchange cycle seems, on the surface, to represent more or less the relationship between any Christian and his Church, it seems arbitrary to select from the complex set of mediating elements enriching the fullness of such a relationship as commonly understood just these two sacraments, important as they are. It is only in the light of the Orokaiva understanding of the Church that

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423 425 611 from a patrilineal norm are so frequent that it is unusual for any man to hold precisely the same blocks as his father who was *enda mama* before him. Nor do clan boundaries and village boundaries remain unchanged for any length of time. In themselves, such departures from patrilineal ideology do not in the least reduce the usefulness of a descent model for the explanation of Orokaiva land tenure, providing that we can plausibly regard all departures from the patrilineal rule as random responses to the vicissitudes of life. In the past, some New Guinea ethnographers have proceeded from this assumption, whereas others (e.g. Lawrence 1967) were willing to recognise structural regularities in the transfer of land to persons other than agnates:

> The potential social relationships which can be deduced from titles to land are of great theoretical importance. They represent an interlocking system of rights and obligations which can reinforce purely biological relationships (those of kinship and descent) within the security circle. (Lawrence 1967:114)

428 423 425 The first question that needs to be resolved, in the case of the Orokaiva, is whether there is really a *rule* enjoining a man to leave his land to his sons (if he has any). I found the rule to be much more ambiguous. If a man has sons, he is expected to leave them *at least half* his land, but he is free to dispose of the other half to others – sisters, daughters, adopted children, for example. Thus a degree of freedom of disposition *is built into the Orokaiva system.* The many cases of non-patrilineal inheritance quoted by Rimoldi, and others I could add, are therefore not exceptions to a rule but the operation of a rule clearly stated by informants. In this discussion, I shall first show on a purely empirical basis that some land transfers are explained by a principle of descent and others on the principle of what Lawrence calls reinforcement of relationships within the security circle. Next, I shall investigate how far the transactional model developed above can provide a principle of higher generality which will sufficiently explain *all* land transfers, patrilineal and other. In the present section I shall concentrate on transfers within the patrilineage.

596 423 [554] [769] We have seen earlier in this discussion that the obligation to 'look after' a plot of land formally arises out of an arrangement between an individual (a newly born child) and an ancestor. In practice, however, the ultimate responsibility falls on the head of the extended family, the 'father of the ground' (*enda mama*). This *enda mama* inherits his title from his father or elder brother who died before him. If he has sisters, younger brothers, children or grandchildren, all these will regard him as *enda mama.* Thus, the death of an individual will not affect the performance of the obligation to ancestors living on the land, as the *enda mama* will either discharge these obligations himself or appoint some other occupier to carry them out.

596 [627] Politically, the *enda mama* acts as leader of his group both externally and internally. In external disputes he champions members of his group against the claims of outsiders. This role is an exceedingly important one and many examples are given where a young man who had a perfectly valid claim to land could not take possession of it because he had nobody to 'speak for him'. (His father was dead.) Internally, in conflicts between members of the extended family, the word of the *enda mama* is final. Nobody outside the family can

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423 man to take responsibility while their sons are still too young. This man will
431 'look after' their land in an economic, political and religious sense and will restore
736 it to the son or sons when they come of age. But in the cases of which I have knowledge, some land is likely to stay with the protector, who often becomes an heir of the widow or cripple.

423 4. In all the cases mentioned so far land is an object representing
591 respectable status and exchangeable for services of a quasi-filial nature. The same applies to most instances I know of uxorilocal marriage. Here it was usually the
583 wife's relatives who desired the husband to stay with them, whereas the latter had no pressing reasons to leave his home village. They were generous in their offers of land, and no sensible man would move without such inducement. After the eruption of Mount Lamington, the survivors of the Sangara tribe, greatly reduced in numbers, offered generous land portions, on a wholly permanent basis, to men who would marry uxorilocally. Widowers dependent on the care of their daughters will encourage uxorilocal marriage in the same way. (The frequency of uxorilocal marriage among the Orokaiva is between 5 and 10 per cent.) In these cases it is clear that land donors are motivated by the desire to attract the son-in-law, and that the son-in-law is motivated by pleasure at the status he will gain as symbolised by the land he is allowed to 'look after'.

423 5. A very similar motivation may be found for the land transfers made in
425 Sivepe in 1966–7 to families who had migrated from neighbouring Garombi. Seeking an increase in population, Sivepe leaders frequently encouraged dissident
166 minorities in some neighbouring villages to join them. When the Garombi people came, a good deal of effort was made to obligate them and attract their friendship and loyalty. Two men gave useholds over gardens and one man gave a usehold over three yam gardens. It is likely that there were other transfers as well, just before I left the field and afterwards. One of the men who received a taro garden started using the donor's plant emblem when working in that garden, thus emphasising the closeness of the bond with the donor's family, as plant emblems are normally transmitted only by descent. Here the donors were motivated by a desire to attach the immigrants more closely to themselves, and the recipients gave friendship and loyalty in return. Here, as in uxorilocal residence, the migrants' willingness to settle in the village was itself treated as a benefit bestowed upon the local people by the migrants.

423 6. As already mentioned, the transfer of land to sisters and daughters is
428 very common. It is the rule that, in the absence of brothers and sons, sisters and
425 daughters should inherit land in preference to second degree kin. I know of several instances where absent brothers and sons were overlooked in favour of sisters and daughters resident in the village. Even if brothers and sons are living in the village, some land may be transferred to females. This will occur especially if a daughter's or sister's husband is known to be short of gardening land. In addition, it may occur for the kind of reasons given by Lawrence in his discussion of land transfers among the Garia, i.e. the enhanced status gained by the mother's brother when he acquires a junior follower strongly dependent on
● [554] him. Among the Orokaiva where the majority of people marry close to home, a man's generosity to his sister may yield him quite a number of loyal supporters if the sister happened to have many children.

423 7. Land is sometimes made available by an individual *enda mama* for a
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community purpose. Whenever a new village is built it is necessary for some individual to give garden land. Often several individuals give a piece each, but such a gift does not entitle the donor to decide just who should live on each house site, nor to control in detail what residents do with their housing sites. Trees planted by householders remain theirs in perpetuity. Such gifts to the community are not balanced by any specific reciprocal gifts or services, but the donors benefit by the contiguity of the village to their gardening land and perhaps, in a diffuse way, they benefit in social and religious status. Similar gifts have also been made in recent times for co-operative cash-cropping ventures, such as rice-growing in the late 1940s and a recent rubber co-operative in Sivepe. Here again, the total 'company' land was contributed by a number of people, some of whom shared out parcels to persons interested in planting rubber trees. In such cases, donors told me they acted for the good of the community, and everybody emphasised that the recipients incurred no obligation.

423 621 431 [554]

Let us now summarise briefly what social benefits are being exchanged between partners in land transactions. Frequent as they are, voluntary land transfers are always treated, in ideological statements, as departures from a regular and more secure patrilineal pattern. It is a though a maternal uncle or affine or distant agnate has voluntarily assumed the role of fictional father of the borrower. One receives a benefit which, in the 'normal' state of affairs, would be given only to a younger brother or son. I do not know of cases where long-term borrowing of land in itself sufficed to induce a man to change his clan affiliation, as seems to happen among the Garia. In one case I quoted, a man adopted the lender's plant emblem, thus emphasising the element of fictional fatherhood. Other informants regarded this as entirely proper and highly sympathetic behaviour, though totally voluntary. Harvest gifts, however, were not wholly voluntary but expected. So was a certain filial attitude of loyalty, obligatory avoidance of quarrels, and willingness to perform supportive services. Only in the case of a son-in-law performing bride service did such an obligation place the borrower in a servant-like position. On the contrary, in most of the cases I quoted it was the lender who felt the stronger need to attract the borrower and enter into a closer relationship with him. For instance, the donor would often have a strong desire for a reliable military and political alliance with the borrower. If supportive familial services were needed, as in the case of old men and widowers, these services were not provided in repayment for land, but in fulfilment of a kinship-determined social obligation. By making a gift of land, the donor was doing no more than express his quasi-paternal sentiments.

423 425 571

We may conclude that, strictly, land is hardly ever an 'object of exchange', in that one cannot suggest any specific major counter-gift or counter-service which could be used to reciprocate. Allegiance and protection, benefits which the land-borrower usually does furnish, cannot be bought with land. They may be given as a response to quasi-paternal support and the enhancement of economic, social and ritual status. Social benefits of this kind are regularly exchanged between non-agnates. In fact, it may be said that it is from social exchanges of this kind between non-agnates that Orokaiva society derives its cohesion or, to use Lawrence's phrase, maintains its security circle.

423 437 571 [182]

Why is land appropriate as a mediating object in such exchanges of social

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less tidy but lateral communication by means of intermediaries was a pattern to be frequently observed.

The topographical position of a house was therefore at the same time a fixed position in the taro exchange network and in the network of alliances. One could almost tell from where a person lived what that person would do. When fierce arguments and hot abuse rang through the night as two households held a cutting dispute with each other, those households were likely to live at opposite ends of the village, either at far ends of the chain or at opposite ends of a wider and looser chain of associations which comprised the village as a whole.

The Seho clusters and the Jegase–Sorovi chain were at opposite sides of the village, but were linked to each other by two connecting chains, consisting largely of people who lived at the outer ends of the elongated village rectangle. One of these connecting chains was formed by men who came from Soroputa and who married wives from the Seho clan. (H5, H20-H21, H11, H12.) The other connecting chain consisted of Seho and Sorovi householders whose distinguishing feature was that they maintained rather wide taro exchange networks, had peaceful natures and tried to keep on friendly terms with almost everyone. (H14, H15, H16, H17). The links shown on the sociogram between the Jegase-Sorovi chain and the Seho people are of great interest as they show the degree of closeness between the two main clan formations (Jegase and Seho). Judging from the taro exchange network, these relations are not critically remote but on the other hand not so close that the two sides are in any danger of losing their separate identity.

Leadership in the two clans differed in a manner that is clearly recognisable on the graph. Seho had an aristocratic type of New Guinean 'big man' leadership, the leader (H12) having hardly any real intimates except primary kin who were rather numerous. These primary kin, however, between them, had intimate links with nearly everybody in the village. The leader had preferential partnerships and close connections with a few but not all the Garombi immigrants, using his close contacts as middlemen. The Jegase sociometric star (H5) had a far wider exchange network, including all the Garombi families, and almost nightly there were large gatherings in his *aaru*. On the other hand, his primary kin links were far fewer; he depended on the systematic fostering of new associations for his challenge to the Seho leadership. Thus cluster and circuit, the two types of association found in Sivepe, each had its own characteristic form of leadership.

6. *Structural Implications*

We have found that gifts of cooked taro are essentially a woman's gift, and that these gifts, if made continuously at short intervals, are a ritual statement of the maintenance of intimacy between pairs of households. The exchange may be stated formally in the following diagram:

The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December, the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. The meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

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The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *aguma* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

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Hence, *otohu* might serve as symbols of high social status whereas *hambo* are less useful in this regard, being worn only intermittently and never with a purely social purpose in mind.

The usefulness of *otohu* as status symbols is further enhanced by the fact that they are transferable from generation to generation. The Member of the House of Assembly for the Northern District told me he always carried his *otohu* with him when meeting his constituents and that he would display it conspicuously attached to his betelnut bag, because a great many people would know this *otohu*: it had belonged to his *epe* who had been a famous war chief and sorcerer. He believed that people in his constituency had great respect for this *otohu*. He made it sound almost as though he was carrying the *insigne* of a hereditary chieftainship, but in fact the basis of his influence was far more complex: it was in part agnatic, in part uterine, and in large part personal. Nonetheless, the *otohu* was obviously very useful to him in establishing new social relations.

Whatever social effect a *hambo* might have would depend mostly on the beauty of its construction and the rarity of its materials. While informants might sometimes think its history and associations worthy of mention, a *hambo's* association with a particular family is usually rather loose, as the right to wear *hambo* of a particular type is never, to my knowledge, restricted to a family. The main effect and power of a *hambo* appears to be aesthetic. It is used to impress partners in a dispute, dancing partners or young women whose passions one hopes to arouse.

Unlike the *otohu*, the *hambo* does not otherwise emphasise the identity of the wearer. One the contrary, a fully decorated person, wearing a head-dress, *hambo* and face-paint, is supposed not to be recognisable as a person. One should on no account address him by name. He represents an *embahi* and, as such, is completely depersonalised. More specifically, the dancer represents a natural species – a pig, a wallaby or, in the case of women, a bird, a butterfly, a flower. The details of these identifications need to be studied more closely. The significance of the decorations is very similar to that of the masks used for dancing in other parts of New Guinea. The face and body become a medium for decorating: the individual assumes the persona of an ancestor; his private existence is covered over to display only his social function.

This total lack of personal identity inherent in the *hambo* makes the object easily transferable from one individual to another. it always belongs essentially to the ancestors and is thus alive with spirit. By transferring it to another, a man emphasises that he and the recipient share some link with the spirit world and this implies amity, the primeval absence of strife. It also probably implies in some way the message of the sacred flutes by which man's contact with the spirit world is established. Further research no doubt will enable us to be more precise about the meaning of these transactions. They occur in a great many social contexts: *hambo* are given away to settle a quarrel, to pay bridewealth, to establish and maintain an important friendship. They are frequently lent to persons about to dance at a feast, and a gift of meat is then required from the borrower. They are lent by the *kogumbari* expert for a similar consideration, and are also bartered and sold. Some people, and not always the most prominent, make large collections of them, and most people of rank have a good store of them, as they are a necessary part of the ceremonial gift exchange system. From

624 Residential units created for administrative purposes seldom had a single focus of allegiance. In the case of Sivepo, the officials appointed by the government in separate villages were thrown together in one village and were later replaced by the local government councillor.

In the mixed post-eruption settlements too, Keesing (1951:9-11) noted conflicting authority between men of different descent groups. Leadership had to be bureaucratically imposed and 'there were no signs of a self-motivated [political] superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties'.

613 Varying definitions have been given of corporate descent
554 groups whose representatives might be said to have legitimate control of land among the mountain Orokaiva: Horton (1962:2-7) describes the embo dombo as a man 'who by virtue of being the senior member of a lineage and by having a superior knowledge of land matters, is regarded as the chief authority in the lineage', and says that the composition of the land controlling group varies from 1 or a number of lineages within the clan to the entire clan. [614] There are said to be as many embo dombo in a landholding group as there are lineages yet he later maintains that

> in each 'clan' a male member, by virtue of his age, his seniority in a descent group and knowledge of the land, has a recognized authority over any matters affecting the activities of the clan of which he is a member and particularly on land affairs. There may be one such man in a 'clan' or a number and he is known as the Embo Dombo.

Horton suggests that every male member of the controlling group is an enda mamo (master of the land), and that the term has sometimes been incorrectly identified with a 'chief land holder'.

Belshaw (1951:2-3) states that the 'minor lineage', constituting all or part of a 'hamlet', shares land and works it together. But particular members 'through their slightly different relationship connections sometimes have senior claims to different areas of land' and a member is enda mamo only insofar as the group is currently cultivating the land to which he has senior claim.

624 Plant (1951: Appendix 2) diverges more from Horton's definition
614 of enda mamo saying that there is one man with this title who is guardian and administrator of land, which is vested in the clan. Although these powers in land matters are more continuous and wider in scope than Belshaw maintains, Plant explicitly distinguishes them from the status of embo (peni) dombo (clan headman). He narrows them further to residual rights to make decisions, in council with clan members, on important matters concerning any of the areas which sections (or segments) of the clan in different

624 villages and individual members of these groups have come to
614 regard as their own, since 'usage tacitly becomes ownership'.[1]

Norton's use of enda mamo seems the most accurate whereas we would accept as valid for groups of any order Plant's separation of the status of embo dombo from that of a 'chief land controller' (or of any man with an authoritative local and historical knowledge of land). But we found no evidence to indicate that any person at Sivepe exercises rights to the land associated with either of the 3 clan branches, such as the landrights Plant and Belshaw attribute to the enda mamo or Norton attributes to the embo dombo.

[425] Among our recorded cases of land falling without direct lineal
[426] heirs, none seems to show that a person such as an embo dombo acquires it by exercising reversionary rights on behalf of the wider agnatic group.

Just as the function of a descent group of given dimension or local organisation is specific to a time and place, the way control over land has devolved among its constituent units closely defines the role of the member (or members) with most influence in issues concerning land, whatever powers he happens to exercise in other connections. The nominal leader of the dispersed branch of Jegase clan is the local government councillor: an assertive middle-aged man, he is senior by any reckoning to other active members of Bebahupa lineage. He has more land than any other Jegase man in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless the scope of his authority in land matters affecting other Jegase men is severely restricted in that the interdependent Arehu and Berekipa lineages have been completely independent of others in the control of their land for the past 30 years.

[613] He retains prestige and influence in many matters of concern to
[624] his own lineage. He can claim prominence among more close agnates
[554] than a leading man of any other lineage in our sample, even though
[614] the Bebahupa have now dispersed from Binduta to Garombi, Mahihita, Kakita, Awala and Sivepe. They now say it is their responsibility as embo bajari (protector or sometimes a co-parcener, especially one responsible for controlling holdings of other heirs) to look after particular parcels of lineage land near these villages.

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[1] Ibid., quoting Williams (1928:125), who is referring to 'sections' (alternatively 'branches' and 'families'). See Norton (1962:8): the tacit permission of the clan for individuals and their descendants to use a vaguely demarcated area is not a 'permanent or ultimate authority vested in the individual by the passage of time.... This in no way grants the man or his successors ownership rights in it' (ibid.:9).

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
[431] branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
[476] expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
[613] Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on average, three households. Usually several clans are represented in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanctions.

511 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal, but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[512] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
[514] within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[614] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
[166] land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence

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[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

592 The average size of households[1] is 4.5 persons, otherwise expressed as 2.4 labour units.[2] Of the fifteen households in the sample at the beginning of the survey, only four had individual [249] holdings of cash crops and one man started a holding during the survey (coffee in all cases). Everybody had rights of access to a communal rubber plantation which was tapped by individuals on a rota system.

464 Most household heads have worked for wages as unskilled or semi-
871 skilled labour (plantation workers, rubber tappers, domestic servants and labourers for the Australasian Petroleum Company). The highest level of education reached by any householder was standard II.[3] Standard IV is the highest level attained within the sample (including children), although one absentee completed standard VI at a government school at Kokoda.

622 Although the sample includes the local government councillor for Sivepe and the adjoining villages of Binduta and Awala, he only recently arrived in the village and exerts limited authority.[4] [241] The village as a whole possesses no universally accepted spokesman or leader[5] and the repeated failure of communal ventures[6] may be related to this fact.

Economic holdings

433 Within the subsistence sector, a key factor in the pattern of exchanges is the fluctuating resources of particular foodstuffs in production at a given time in a given household: when an individual has no producing taro he is dependent on others, when he has excess he distributes. Significantly, at the time of the survey of

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[1] For the purposes of this survey, a household is a group of people [519] gardening, cooking, eating and budgeting together. It is basically the nuclear family, perhaps including unmarried kin or widowed or divorced parents (although these may operate as independent households). The household invariably resides under a single roof. Cases of two households living together occur and their frequency in Inonda helps explain the larger mean size of house.

[128] [2] Labour units were calculated on the following basis:

Age	5-9 years	10-14	15-19	20-44	45+
Male	0.1	0.3	0.8	1.0	0.8
Female	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.6

[3] See Appendix 1.2 [4] See Rimoldi 1966:55-6.

[554] [5] One man, adopted into Timumu clan, is asserting himself increasingly through his generosity, organising ability and industriousness.

[6] See pp.44-5 and Rimoldi 1966:84, 107-8.

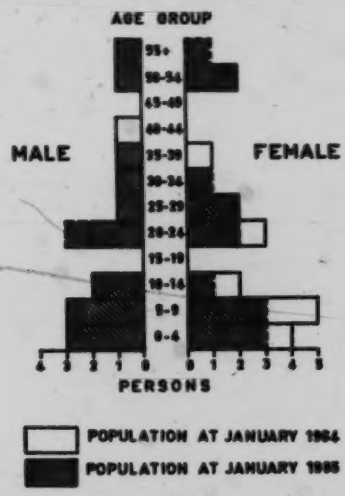
A. [See Category 871, p. 307--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

FIGURE 4:2

INONDA: AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

SHOWING NET CHANGES JANUARY 1964-JANUARY 1965



non-agnatic ties have led to close relationships with people in Ajoro, Sewa, Hosou, Urio, Jonita and Hohorita.

As in Sivepa, most of the men have had labouring jobs and two had also been teachers for the Anglican mission - one for 27 years, the other for 6 years, including 4 in New Britain.

Three household heads, all over 40 years of age, have had no education. One household head and one woman reached standard V and the woman's husband completed standard IV. Two young men, one a household head, served as farmer trainees at Popondetta Agricultural Station, and another completed eleven months of the course at the aid post orderly training school at Saiho.

In addition to his six years with the Anglican mission, one of the ex-teachers, a man of 35, was for two years local government

554 councillor for the villages of Inonda, Ajoro, Hohota, Hosou and Sewa. He is the senior resident member of the traditionally-dominant lineage and the trade store owner. He initiated the building of the copra-drier and takes the lead in most other new undertakings and at times of crisis or dispute, though his views are sometimes successfully opposed. In land matters he defers to or seeks the advice of the oldest male resident.

Economic holdings

241 [126] The data on crop patterns and areas of subsistence gardens are presented with the data for 1962 given by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:7-10). The figures for garden areas are not strictly comparable, since the 1964 data on garden areas, though not on crop numbers, were obtained by mapping from aerial photographs whereas the 1962 figures were calculated from the results of chain and compass surveys. This latter technique was used in 1964 for mapping the areas under taro and sweet potato. Other crop data were obtained by counts in the gardens. Information on holdings of economic trees and the inventories of household property were derived from interviews and were not checked on the ground, except for trees recently planted in the village surrounds.

[592] Although the mean size of household is 3.9 people, two households contain only one adult. There is considerable flexibility in residence and in arrangements for making gardens. For instance, the mother of the wife of one household head came to settle in the household permanently in July 1964; she maintains her own garden, which was cleared by her son and her daughter's husband. Another household comprises a widower who makes his own gardens and has the highest cultivated area of any household; however, his eldest son's wife, in a separate household, does some of his harvesting and prepares most of his meals. The widower also makes gardens for the widow who heads household 18. This woman lived with her two youngest children until August, when her eldest son and his family (household 21) moved into her house on the new village site. Another garden was made on her behalf by her brother in another village. Household 24 comprised the parents of two sisters who had married Inonda men. At first, they lived with household 23 at the old site but moved in October to join household 21. They maintain their own gardens.

(a) Food gardens

At the beginning of February 1964, the nine Inonda households were cultivating 27 gardens, at a mean distance from the village of 0.5 hours' walking time. In December 1964 the eight households remained after the departure of the Jego'undi man had 29 gardens at a mean distance of 0.3 hours' walking time.

461 the principal source of cash, where the returns to labour are relatively low.[1] Here families of procreation and orientation often form a single work group where parents, without cash crops of their own, are called upon to assist their children. The work groups are largest (2.9 persons) for pulping where the crude methods used are especially inefficient. The marketing of rubber involves work groups of a mean size of 1.9 persons since the product has a higher weight-value ratio than coffee and is also bulkier.

A relationship appears to exist between the 'hardness' of the work (in terms of energy expenditure and the capacity of one person to handle it) and the size of the work group. The affiliation of members of such groups is extremely varied and appears to be based largely on considerations of residence as it is exceptional for members of a Sivepe-initiated work group to be drawn from outside the village.

Apart from the activities described there is a variety of communal tasks initiated by an external agency and there are others which apparently originate elsewhere but operate through an agent within the village. Establishment of the communal cash crop garden and the pre-Christmas hunting drives both fall within this latter category and work groups exceeding twenty people were often associated with them. Of the two, the hunting drives were most successful since the type of organisation and techniques used were essentially traditional - beaters drive the game towards a long staked net where they are speared by the netsmen.

Because of relative unfamiliarity with most forms of co-operative effort, communal activities initiated by the external agencies generally prove unsuccessful. Where they are customary, as in sago-making, an immediate return against assistance rendered is frequently obtained. No such immediate or tangible returns are associated with many of the communal activities initiated by the external agencies.

The activity patterns of selected individuals

128 The preceding pages have been concerned with a strictly quantitative analysis of the behaviour of a population of 36 adults. Here closer consideration is given to six individuals, representing a range of 'types', with the object of exploring possible relationships between work and the more qualitative factors of family, status, values and aspirations.

159 554 Linton. The main material criteria used in assessing individual status are diligence in work, generosity, wealth in terms of both cash and traditional valuables (di-hambo) and abundance of yams. By all these standards Linton ranks very highly in the village.

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1 See p.292. A 4

A, [See Category 433, p.292--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

159
554 his position being acknowledged by the widest range of people. Although in no sense a 'director' of village affairs he was the last villager to receive an otohu[1] and the first to obtain any formal education.[2] His position is therefore derived from his apparent ability to encompass both the 'old' and the 'new' ways, thereby gaining the respect of most members of the community. This elevation in his status is a recent development, not evident during Rimoldi's stay in the village, and in all probability influenced by the fact that he is an adopted member of Timumu clan and only 38 years old.

554 A married man with five children, he lives next door to his ageing step-father and
[431] mother giving them, as well as other older villagers, considerable gifts of food and assist-
[476] ance with such customary group enterprises as clearing garden sites, harvesting yams and house construction. Further, with an age mate from Saho clan, he accepted full responsibility for the organisation of the major sago-making venture during the dry season, at the request of his mother's brother. Among younger members of the village his stature is derived from extensive experience in paid employment[3] and his active interest in and responsible approach to cash-producing activities within the village.

Linton has the largest cultivated area of those surveyed and the largest holding of yams. Also, being the owner of a shotgun, an active coffee grower,[4] an OCGS shareholder and, during the survey, erecting a house of local materials under contract for Saho hospital, his commitment to the external economy is both varied and substantial.

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1 The otohu was an ornament presented to selected initiates which conferred on them important social obligations. In a discussion of the nature and purpose of the otohu Williams (1930:204-5) states: 'Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate "well-behaved" in the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest equivalent in our language would be "decent" or "respectable". The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was otohu or otohu-embo who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who did not steal.... Diligence bears some part of this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity....
We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an otohu does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.' In Linton's case the otohu was presented at a specially arranged ceremony, apparently in acknowledgement of his upholding of traditional Orokaiva values.

2 He spent a year at Isivita school prior to the second world war.

3 A total of 9½ years spent, largely in an unskilled capacity, in Port Moresby, Lae, Salamaua and elsewhere in the Northern District.

4 Although without a coffee garden of his own, he has successfully asserted a claim to trees acquired by another Timumu man following the subdivision of a communal planting established about 1966. See Rimoldi 1966:53-4 for a description of this planting.

554 Only occasionally do his monetary aspirations appear openly to conflict with customarily defined Orokaiva behaviour. Two such cases may be instanced.

432 While the practice of 'marketing' pigmeat is becoming increasingly common among the inland Orokaiva, initially to 'strangers' by hawking around villages or selling it at Saiho market, it is also beginning to operate among kinsmen at the intra-village level. 'Marketing' normally follows the unpremeditated killing of a pig, as in the case of one having broken into a garden. Two cases occurred in Sivepe during the year, one organised by the village councillor and the other involving a pig of Linton's. While Linton shot the pig himself and decided to 'market', at the last moment he left the village and another member of Timunu clan cut it up and sold it, giving all the proceeds to Linton's mother.

[431] In a third case Linton had decided to distribute the legs as hande[1] but market the body. Again at the last moment he changed his mind and made hande with all the meat.

472 224 Linton faced a similar conflict between custom and cash in his hunting activities. As the owner of a shotgun he did a great deal of hunting, particularly in the dry season, formulating a business arrangement with non-kinsmen from other villages whereby he would hunt on their behalf if they provided the cartridges and a cash payment of 10c with each

[571] cartridge. In return he guaranteed a flying fox for each cartridge. By such a restriction of entrepreneurial activities to people outside the 'sympathy group'[2] an effective compromise is achieved between customary values and commercial aspirations, and individual security founded on reciprocal exchange among kindred is not impaired.

554 Linton's status in the community, and the diversity of his interests and loyalties, is manifested by his being the most active person in the sample.[3] With a mean activity week of 82.9 hours he distributes his efforts throughout the range of activities (with the exception of household and sickness which are predominantly the concern of women) leaving little time for informal socialising.

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1 Hande: a prestation where subsequent reciprocation is expected.

2 i.e. the group 'to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality' (Williams 1930:310). For a lengthy discussion of the concept see Williams 1930:308-35. See also Lawrence's discussion (1967:101-5) of the 'security circle', an analogous concept.

3 With the exception of the girl in full-time employment at Sasembata clinic.

those visitors who had given most cash. In former times, they said, feasts usually continued for two to five days, but today there is a tendency, particularly in areas where paid work is available, to get them over in a single night or week-end.

While the rationale for the party was the birthday of the two children, they were in fact conspicuous by their absence from any aspect of the celebrations, feasting or exchange. The changing modes of dancing, dress, entertainment and economic exchange showed a constant striving to acquire foreign behaviour patterns. The feast did serve to confirm the adoption of the children (which had not previously been formalized) and to affirm the bona fides of the son-in-law who had been unable to meet his bride-wealth obligations. But it appeared to me that the main motive of the promoter (a retired mission teacher whose prestige was considerable, but waning in his retirement, and whose status was marginal in a patrivirilocal society in which circumstances forced him to live in the village of two of his daughters' husbands) was to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence.

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CHAPTER 4 - WORK ORGANIZATION

Characteristics of the work force

At the time of our survey there were 23 persons of 15 years of age and over living in the village. One old man was very frail, and one woman who was visiting her brother while she recuperated from an injury, did no productive work. There were no girls between the ages of ten and fourteen, and only three boys. Two of the boys were temporary visitors and did not stay for long and the third, a lad of about ten years, was never seen to engage in any productive work. Children of nine years and under frequently helped with domestic chores like carrying water and firewood, but they took little or no part in agricultural production. This left a work force of 11 men and 10 women, though one man died during the survey, thus leaving equal numbers of each sex.

As shown in Table 9 below, all Inonda household heads except one had been employed,(1) and they had spent at least part of that time away from their home village. With the exception of those employed as teachers, village councillors or village constables, almost all the men had gone away to work before they married (and marriage was consequently delayed for these men). There was no pressing economic reason for young single men to remain in the village, for subsistence gardening is primarily women's work and such men's work as there is to do can usually be done by the head of the household. In fact the people have come to regard a trip away to work as a necessary prerequisite to adult life. It gives an opportunity to earn money (much of which is saved in order to acquire a bride on return to the village) as well as prestige, and the one man who had never had paid work was mocked on that account. Only one Inonda man was employed away from the village at the time of the survey. He was a single man who was working in Port Moresby (and was not included in the survey).

(1) There were three men who were not heads of households. Two were old men who had not had any paid work as it had not been available in the time of their youth. The other was a young man who had spent 4 years as a medical orderly. These women had been employed - two had spent a year each as teachers and one had spent a year in domestic service.

Table 15

Comparison of years of absence from home village with planting of cash crops

Total years Absence from Village	Number of Coffee or Cocoa Trees	Code No. of Household Head
38	see note (a) in Table 14	8
7	288	4
5	335	1
5	178	3
5	0	6
4	150	7
4	0	5
0	0	2

There is also a close association between status in the village and the planting of cash crops. The three persons with highest status in the village are the previous head of the joint sub-clans who has now gone to the government resettlement scheme where he has planted more cash crops than any villager,(1) the subsequent head of the joint sub-clan who has most (335) coffee trees and the councillor (who is son of a former head of the sub-clan) who has the next most (288). It is clear (and supported by comparison with neighbouring villages) that those with highest status in the community are the ones most likely to plant cash crops or likely to plant most. Evidence elsewhere in the Pacific suggests that the man of influence is shifting his emphasis from traditional means of gaining prestige to modern ones based on the acquisition of money. It appears that this trend is taking place in the Popondetta area also.

It might be mentioned incidentally that Keesing (1951:5-14) considered the Orokaiva to be culturally predisposed to absorb the types of traumatic change of residence and social relations which were a consequence of extensive and persistent

(1) He has planted 1,161 cocoa trees.

to the Northern District none has lived within a village community in the way almost all Orokaiva live today. Their houses are built on their farms adjacent to their cash crops rather than in a village. The farms of A and B are within half a mile of their villages but C's farm is two miles away, while D, occupying a resettlement block, is nearly a hundred miles from his home village. (There were no resettlement schemes closer at the time.) The first three men were joined in their new houses by relatives, in addition to their own nuclear families, who lived with, or adjacent to, them and assisted in the cash-cropping.

The four entrepreneurs had engaged in paid work for periods ranging from twelve to twenty-five years, with an average of seventeen. This is considerably longer than the average for village Orokaiva,[1] and the entrepreneurs have each been engaged in a much wider range of occupations than ordinary villagers.

The work experience of one of the successful entrepreneurs, B, had been mainly in cash-cropping activities, but the other three had had little such experience and none of them had any experience or training in retail trading. On the other hand, all four had held posts involving considerable responsibility over people and property.[2]

A factor which can only be a matter of conjecture at this stage, is that all four men appear to have drawn on the example of specific persons as models for their actions. Their aspirations to higher consumption standards, better housing, motor vehicles, education for their children, etc., appear to be very similar to those of the village Orokaiva people with whom I have worked. The main difference seems to be that most village people regard these goals as largely unattainable by methods at present open to them and are still seeking a clearer 'way' or 'road' to prosperity, whereas the four entrepreneurs have seen their goals as attainable by drawing on the models known to them from personal experience.[3] This is not to suggest that they have clear-cut or well formulated plans for development, nor that they are familiar with the economics of

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[1] Household heads at Inonda had spent an average of ten years in paid employment (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:59) and at Sivepa six and a half years (Rimoldi 1966:82).

[2] Their positions have included cook, labour recruiter, charge over food and equipment stores, foreman of plantations, of a coffee factory and of an oil exploration team, and police sergeant.

[3] In all four cases the models were European, but in the case of Numbuk of Erap (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963a:1) the model was a successful New Guinean entrepreneur.

472 marketing or the more intricate techniques of production. It does
554 suggest, however, that they have a sufficiently clear conception
153 of the way to achieve the goal (and the way is more important than the goal itself) to enable them to organise and to act. It is apparent that the entrepreneurs studied were highly motivated.[1]

Land and food gardens

241 Most Orokaiva men established their cash crops on customary
423 land to which they have acquired rights by inheritance from their
[428] fathers. None of the entrepreneurs did so, though all claim that
[472] they could have done had they wished but deliberately chose not to. Each stated that the reason was to avoid claims by kin to their land, produce or income.

241 A had cleared bush land and planted coffee at Garara where his
423 close kin had been permitted to resettle in the late 1920s. Though
472 the host clan did not mind the newcomers planting food crops they objected to cash crops and forced him to abandon it. About 1930 the newcomers purchased about 2,000 acres of virgin bush land at Kapurahambo from the clans of Soputa. The transfer was accompanied by a series of feasts and dances and the distribution of traditional valuables. The land was divided among the buying group, A and his two brothers being allocated an area of eighty-one acres on which they have since planted cocoa and coffee. A has applied for re-
[656] gistration of his land under the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963.

B claims he had extensive customary land available to him and this is confirmed by other villagers. But for his cash crops (coffee and cocoa) he chose to clear an area of unoccupied bush land which had formerly been owned by a small group which had been decimated and the survivors scattered decades before. B thought he would acquire exclusive rights to the area he cleared (Crocombe
[656] and Hogbin 1963b:72-3). He subsequently improved the security of his title by registering this land under the Higaturu Council land registration scheme, a transitional scheme, now superseded. He has since applied for registration under the 1963 legislation.

[432] C has rights to hundreds of acres of customary lands. For his cash-cropping, however, he chose to use two adjacent blocks of a total of 106 acres which had been purchased by the government for European settlement in the 1920s for 54 pounds of tobacco, one tomahawk and one knife. The European lessor planted coconuts but abandoned the property before the second world war. Though legally

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[1] A better understanding of this aspect will be achieved by research to be undertaken in 1967 by Ruth Finney of the University of California.

the price at which he bought (e.g. a knife bought at 87 cents would be sold at 90 cents).[1]

Irrespective of profits, stores are both a convenience and a source of considerable prestige to the owner.

No records of customers were kept, but from casual observation it appears that customers are either persons who are unrelated and not resident in the same locality or close kin and close friends. The more distant relatives and the residents in the owner's village often go to considerable trouble not to buy from the local entrepreneurs. They justify their avoidance with stories which depict the trader in a personally unfavourable light, though some point to the lower prices and wider range of goods in Popondetta, and others to the advantage of buying from local co-operatives which provide rebates and benefit everyone, rather than from private stores with higher prices and individual profit.

These arguments should apply equally to the customers of the entrepreneurs, but they do not seem to in practice. I assume that this is due to the fact that the entrepreneurs do provide credit, assistance with life crises and other advantages (including the attraction of close association with men of prestige) to very close friends and kin, but decline to provide these privileges to more distant kin and neighbours. These people feel entitled to special consideration and are affronted by refusal. C, the trader with the largest turnover, built his store in a village other than his own[2] and most customers come from that and three neighbouring villages. Most people of his own village of Hanau buy from a co-operative store further away. A's main clients are plantation workers, as most of his fellow villagers use the co-operative even though it involves a long walk. D's store was located on a main road until a re-routing of the road left him without his main source of clients - people walking along the road.

Since 1964, D has been buying cotton piece goods which his wife makes up on her sewing machine into skirts, dresses and shorts for sale in the store. Demand for these goods is greater than the supply and a girl is now hired part-time to assist with sewing.

A, B and D sell small quantities of garden produce or hunted meat at irregular intervals at the Popondetta market.

A undertakes commercial processing for other persons, having established a cocoa fermentary with the help of agricultural officers in 1962. The building cost $500 from his savings and an

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[1] Having limited experience in handling money most of the entrepreneurs round prices to the nearest ten cents as far as possible.

[2] The other three all have their stores adjacent to their homes.

156 402 554 [614] [714] [631]

Community leadership

Three of the four entrepreneurs are eldest sons and two of them are heads of sub-clans. The third expects to be when the present holder, his father's younger brother, dies. All four have or had elective status in the community, in religious, political or economic institutions. Three of the four are or have been church councillors,[1] two have been local government councillors,[2] and three directors of the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Co-operative. The extensive time these men give to community leadership (an average of 7.6 hours weekly) contrasts strongly with that of Inonda and Sivepe villagers (0.5 hours).

While the others seem to have been willing to accept leadership roles among villagers, D has declined nomination as a councillor and several other roles and has less contact with village society. This is perhaps due to his being a stranger to this area.

A, B and C claim to have gone to considerable trouble to encourage the people of surrounding villages to engage in cash-cropping. In B's case at least there is clear evidence that this is so. Apart from active encouragement, their enterprises could be expected to have had significant demonstration effects. The fact that villages adjacent to those of the two longest established entrepreneurs, A and B, have a higher number of trees per man than other villages in the census division supports this suggestion.

Demonstration effects, however, appear to be less in the entrepreneur's own village, where he is in all cases envied and resented by many. My impression from living among the Orokaiva is that the prestige of the entrepreneurs increases as one gets further away in a radius of five miles or so (perhaps ten in the case of B) and decreases again thereafter. A and B in particular often accommodate strangers on long journeys on foot, and B has for many years had a special house which is available to any foot traveller. Distant villagers, returning labourers, children going to and from boarding school and others from up to fifty miles away stay overnight at B's house. No charge is made, no gift expected or usually given. In fact B, who is widely acclaimed for his hospitality to strangers, usually supplies them with vegetable foods. [514]

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1 Elected annually, usually one per village. A retired in favour of his eldest son and B retired when the refugees from the Mount Lamington villages (who had elected him) left their temporary settlement near B's coffee plot. He was asked by the village to be their church councillor but declined as he lived outside the village and the role of councillor ideally requires constant attendance in the village.

2 Elected triennially. Each represents several villages. A retired owing to age. B was defeated.

It is thus understandable that though the entrepreneurs are often not acceptable in leadership roles in their own villages, they are acceptable in elective roles where the selection lies with a wider community. It is likely that the stimulus they give to economic change among the Orokaiva is considerable. When they achieve their goal of owning motor transport, which gives tremendous prestige, many will consider that their 'way' has been substantiated and the impact of their example will be multiplied.

Summary

Data are presented on the four rural entrepreneurs among the Orokaiva. Because the sample is so small few generalisations can be made. All had travelled much more widely than the average villager, had been in paid employment for longer and had held posts of greater skill and responsibility than the average villager. Whereas most Orokaiva people established their gardens on their traditional lands, the entrepreneurs have deliberately not done so. The three who had developed their enterprises without financial help were all eldest sons who benefited from the labour of junior relatives. All have attempted to employ permanent labour, but none has succeeded.

There were marked differences between the work patterns of the entrepreneurs and those of villagers. The entrepreneurs spent less time than villagers did on subsistence gardening, but twenty times more in cash-cropping and trading; they spent much less time on traditional social obligations and much more on community leadership.

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Table 3

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Years of paid work

A	15	E	10	I	1
B	8	F	5	J	8
C	8	G	7	K	3
D	14	H	13	L	4
Average	11.25		8.75		4

[554] When level of responsibility and status is considered, however, the position reverses: those who are most successful have held jobs requiring most responsibility.[1]

Table 4

Level of job responsibility

	A	2	E	2	I 1
	B	2	F	2	J 3
	C	3	G	3	K 1
	D	2	H	1	L 1
Average	75% at level 2		50% at level 2		75% at level 1

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Social relations

Age. Average age is lowest for the most successful group but this is likely to be related to the fact that educational services were even fewer before and during the second world war than they have been since.

Table 5

Age

A	34	E	50	I	40
B	30	F	46	J	26
C	37	G	26	K	29
D	40	H	45	L	21
Average	35.25		41.75		29

[1] Level of responsibility was categorised as follows: (1) policeman, cook (pre-war), welfare assistant, medical orderly; (2) interpreter, labour recruiter, foreman; (3) storeman, clerical assistant, domestic (post-war), gardener, hunter, labourer.

Table 18

Loans received

A	$1,500	(land board)	E	-		I	$200	(from brother-in-law for store)
B	$178	(from younger brother for store)	F	-		J	-	
C	-		G	-		K	$390	(from brother and share money for store)
D	$1,500	(land board)	H	$1,500	(land board)	L	-	
	75%			25%			50%	

Conclusion

Analysis of the three groups with respect to variables which may be classified roughly as economic and social reveals a degree of differentiation. The data do not enable firm conclusions on whether the different variables of themselves explain the relative success of the sample in trading activities.

The most successful group had fewer economic trees than either of the less successful groups, had considerably higher liquid assets, but fewer traditional valuables. They had more tools and equipment than the traders whose stores were closed, but fewer than the traders who, in this sample, can be classed as moderately successful.

The traders with highest turnover had been in operation for considerably less time than the other two groups, and their stores were more frequently outside the owner's home village. They had received more loans to assist with their stores, and fewer loans from the Land Board than either of the other groups.

With respect to social variables the most successful traders were younger than the other groups. Directly related to their lower age was their higher level of education and their shorter experience of paid work. However, the positions they had held had carried more responsibility and status than those held by the less well educated, younger and less successful entrepreneurs.

They were as often elected to positions of community leadership as the least successful, though the moderately successful most often held such positions, and more often held more than one such position (an achievement never realised by the least successful traders).

657 423 been at Ombi-Tara, in favour of briefer parties which distract less from market oriented activities.[1]

182 [829] There was verbal evidence at Ombi-Tara of further rejection of old customs since the introduction of tenure conversion. Informants often suggested that conversion marks the beginning of a new life - 'Before we were not using our land well but now we are changing everything and we will live better'. Several previous innovations in the Northern District have been greeted in like fashion (see Belshaw 1951:249, and Crocombe 1964a:29-32).

[622] [554] [614] Leadership in the traditional societies of Papua-New Guinea is generally not inherited but achieved through personal excellence in economic and political organisation and the main activities of the society including a knowledge of land tenure arrangements. It was decided by the members of the Musu clan that their clan leader was too old to understand and adapt to the new land system. His son was not considered clever enough to succeed him and eventually the thirty-five year old son of the leader's brother was chosen as successor.

[621] The introduction of tenure changes tends to favour younger men who no longer need to defer to their elders for cash crop land. Tenure conversion at Ombi-Tara may also affect the balance of 'informal' authority in the area by altering the balance of land rights. Before conversion some individuals had rights to considerably larger areas of land than others. [556] This was of some significance in determining status and prestige. Since conversion, each individual has rights to twenty acres of land. The long-term effect of this equalisation on social organisation and informal status and prestige systems may be of some significance.

[614] [627] The functions of the clan leader are little changed by the new tenure system. As before, he has no jurisdiction over land held by individuals. He previously had limited authority to intervene if one man planted on another's land without permission and under the new system can prevent one man planting behind another's block. He is charged with preventing people from other clans or other areas planting on his clan's land in much the same way as before tenure conversion, with the difference that now his jurisdiction in this matter applies only to the clan land outside the blocks.

Obligations

571 Mutual assistance and mutual obligation patterns provide a system of social security, a form of institutional safeguard

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[1] Similar changes have been reported in another Orokaiva area by Crocombe (1966:71-2) and Hogbin (1966:81-3).

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

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166 Absence from the village, particularly by working-age males, is now an established social pattern among the Yega. Fifty-one per cent of all adult males are absent, in paid employment. For unmarried men, the percentage is seventy-seven. Of 100 adult men working away from the village, twenty-three had been away for ten years or more; in four instances separation from the village was virtually complete, three having never revisited their village and one only once in thirteen years. This means that many Yega can no longer be classified as 'temporary' absentees. However, most wage-earners still return to their village for annual holidays.

434
431 All wage-earners send a portion of their earnings to their older kinsmen who remain at

178 [P.17-A)
554

434 home in the villages. By doing this, they are
431 bringing about changes in the established
178 rules of leadership in village life. Under tradi-
554 tional custom, improvement in status was associated with the ceremonial distribution of goods: the recipients were placed under obligation to repay in similar kind at some future date, or else lose status. Among the Yega, the older recipients of gifts in cash or manufactured goods find it impossible to repay such gifts. As a result there has been an increase in the prestige of young or middle-aged, educated men. An instance of this trend was the
[666] almost unanimous election, in 1964, of such
[659] a person, recently returned from paid employment, as the Yega's first councillor on the Oro Bay Local Government Council.

[P.17-B]

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

from behaviour, because Orokaiva parents give their children, for instance, school lunches, just as parents will do anywhere. It is only when the anthropologist inquires how such behaviour is *classified* by actors, that we find differences, e.g. that an occidental mother will say she is doing her duty to her children when an Orokaiva mother will count the school lunches along with other lots of gift exchange taro she has distributed that day. If the anthropologist proceeds to ask whether the mother expects a counterprestation, a minimum of casuistic talent will suggest the answer to her that she will get it all back in her old age.

The hard fact is that some *tihanga* are collectable, others not. Naturally one collects what one can. A more apposite but difficult field of enquiry would be: when do people stop allowing others to accumulate uncollectable debts? The commonly given, almost standard answer to unwelcome requests for *hande* is: *irae* (it's all gone). This is by no means always true but, over a longer run, it would be hard indeed to stop giving until the supplies are gone. The only room for exercising free will is in deciding to whom one will share out what one has. Orokaiva do not accumulate debt to the same extent as many other more hierarchised New-Guinean groups,[5] because there is a rule against borrowing for ceremonial prestations. Big men may give on such occasions; they may not lend. Even so, a good part of any *hande* will go to sundry creditors, while the rest will go to set up debts among others. Here the social scientist cannot hope to write rules for what is essentially an art.

One may say that the highest social status is reserved to the skilled manipulator, the *hande embo*, who is also often called *otohu embo*, a term discussed in much detail elsewhere (Schwimmer 1973; ch. 9) which means not only a generous, honourable man, but even in a sense, 'a holy man'. My field data show that the persons in my village to whom this term may be most nearly applied, practised great care in balancing their accounts and minimising their debts within the village. It was those who lacked ambition for 'big man' status who allowed their debts to ride indefinitely. They did ask for help in feasting and other more or less public causes, but not often the kind that set up *tihanga* against them. It may also be relevant that the rules I have been setting out here do not apply so closely to European type resources such as money and objects bought with money and I never heard that it set up a *tihanga* if a friend pays your taxes. Money was, at the time of my research, little more than a toy, except if it became 'sacralised' by being included in a bridewealth or other ceremonial prestation. To be sure it then became an *integral* part of the Orokaiva exchange system, but even then I do not believe that money could become *tihanga* in the sense that its repayment was seriously demanded upon dissolution of a marriage. Perhaps the explanation of this paradox lies in Sahlins's theory of *hau*: the possession of valuables such as ornaments has a definite *yield*, in blessings gained by the donor, *hande mine* gained by the lender. On the other hand, money (except if kept for other ceremonial prestations) vanishes without a trace, without any noticeable yield, at least among Orokaiva. Presentation of money at a wedding or other ceremony, while highly honorific, is in fact a destruction of value, like coppers at a potlatch.

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

main road, or even facing each other on opposite sides of it. Although this is clearly the wish of the majority of the people, it does not suit all of them. There is some talk that it increases the danger of sorcery, and certain individuals fear that it will mean an increase in the burden of responsibility of the village maintenance type. Thus some hamlets have not joined in the general move, and others have split on the question. Another question that cannot be answered at the moment is, how far was the earlier hamlet system a result of tendencies towards violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?

It is of course one thing to say that a hamlet or village group has land in a new part of the country suitable for their migration, and quite another to say that each individual in the group will find such a move to be the best. Looking at the matter retrospectively, it is now possible to see that many of the answers given to administrative enquiries were framed to assure the authorities that all would be well if they left the refugee camps immediately; everything was subordinated to this end.

The inheritance of land is mainly patrilineal; but a man may work his wife's land, and even, with the assent of her relatives, inherit a share in his mother's land. This means that individual members of a clan, instead of inheriting land jointly from a common ancestor, often inherit and claim land in different parts of the country through matrilineal or marital influences. A clan, however, lives together and its members work land near their residence. Because of influences which lie outside the direct patrilineal line, or because of fragmentation, the person who has senior authority over this land may or may not be the genealogically senior member of the clan. At any rate, he is given a special title, *enda mamo*, or "father of the land." If the clan finds it necessary to move its residence, it will also probably move its land-use area. This involves a change in the balance of land authority and the emergence possibly of a new *enda mamo*. This has in fact happened in several of the new villages.

At the time of my visit to the area in April, it was confidently expected that once the people started building homes on the new sites, all would be well. In fact the situation is much more fluid and unsettled. The Putemo people, for instance, who had moved to a site almost contiguous with the magnificent new village of Sairope, had not yet settled questions of garden land. The village site was given to them by the Sairope people, but this meant removing themselves several hours away from the old garden lands, and they had not worked out to what extent they could claim land closer to them. In many cases individuals, say of the Popota hamlet, would agree to move with the hamlet. When they started building their home or inspecting the ground the real consequences of the move came home to them: it was not then merely an academic question. They considered alternative sites—their own near other new villages, their wife's, and their mother's. Often too the wife, on her return from Ilimo, would have something fresh to say about choice of site. Moves and uncertainty were frequent and it may be months before the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
439 store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
443 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda and Sivepa. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader. Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata [554] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in favour of them were: that the village store might as well have the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Teupa"

177 In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
366 contacts characteristic of Sivepa village at the time of the eruption
368 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to Popondetta than Sivepa, while the small size of Inonda and its longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing cultural contact. A general difference between the two places, resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for the people of Sivepa is most often the village, or a place only a mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garoubi, or Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is
177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepa,
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731 a warning not to openly disobey the new culture heroes, to deal with
177 them gently and cunningly and avoid making them angry. Thus the
eruption led to greater circumspection if not contrition. It also led
[784] to a sense of deeper involvement with the new age. The immediate
consequence was a fashion of modern village building in 1951, as both
Belshaw and Kaad have reported. After this rather brief demonstration
of respect to the deity, life reverted to its previous style for some
years, after which there was a further period of innovation, more
soundly based on the development of the Sasembata school, the local
government council, the increase of economic opportunities, both in
the towns and in cash cropping, and finally on nation-wide political
development. The Orokaiva of today definitely sees himself as entering
upon a new age, and he views this with optimism and some excitement.
The eruption undoubtedly was perceived as a potent sign of the coming
of this new age and the danger of resisting it. For this reason, it
might theoretically be expected that new ideas would be accepted more
eagerly in the resettlement areas than in the less affected areas such
as Inonda.

177 Unfortunately, I find it hard to evaluate the Inonda data. The
554 Christian, cash-cropping families were as concerned to view themselves
as living in a new age as were the people of Sivepa. The views of
the other families were hard to obtain. Crocombe and Hogbin pointed
out correctly that these families explain their non-participation in
the coffee scheme by difficulties in their land title. The two authors
also characterised the Pagan families as being of "lower status",
pointing out that the "higher status" families are (also in neighbouring
villages) the most likely to plant cash crops or likely to plant most,
(1963: 85) for reasons of prestige. During my own stay, the Pagan
families set themselves against participation in the women's club, as
they felt it violated traditional custom. I had the impression that
there was a status conflict between the factions, as participation in
the church, the women's club or any other European activity would have
put the resistant faction in a clear position of inferiority, and
increased the power of the leader of the other faction who ran all these
activities.

Section II: Acculturation

177 The contacts and the ideological changes sketched in the previous
sections have not led to a basic transformation of the culture.
Williams' classical account of the Orokaiva, based on fieldwork
conducted in 1923, still corresponds in fundamentals to what can be
seen today. In the present section, I shall draw attention to some
aspects of the culture that have changed since the eruption, but it
should be stressed that, in field observation, they are seen as embedded
in a largely traditional culture, with a social organisation, economy,

184 Jegase, thus making Sivepe basically into a two-clan village, into
621 which some recent Garoubi immigrants remain to be integrated. Inonda,
614 in 1951, consisted of 13 houses of which nine were inhabited by Andiriha, three by Jego-undi and one bachelor's house. In 1966, there were only seven houses, only one of which was occupied by Jego-undi. Hence, Inonda has almost ceased to be a two-clan village today.

571 I have written at length about modern Orokaiva leadership elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1967) and shall do little more here than summarise the conclusions already published. The scope and range of Orokaiva leadership has always been small, except for the heads of extended families (okose) who had a very wide scope of authority. Each village had a set of experts who had unquestioned authority in their sphere of expertise. Examples are the medicine man, the hunting expert, [554] dancing expert and some others. One of these experts, the feasting [622] expert, is in fact the man of highest status in the clan or village and may be called its leader. A clan leader may take responsibility [614] for such corporate actions as a modern clan performs, e.g., raise bride price for one of its members. Except in these circumscribed situations, he is esteemed and respected rather than obeyed. The village leader, in a multi-clan village, is usually the leader of the largest clan. In dealings with other villages, he is the man to whom most respect must be paid; it is here, and when acting as a feasting leader, that he most closely approaches the role of power-bearer. Even so, the Orokaiva word for "feasting leader" is pondo kiari ubo, i.e., feasting expert, and in explanation of his role informants always stress that it is based on expertise rather than on a more diffuse concept of status. I also found, after inquiring in Inonda, Hohorita and seven villages in the Saembata district, that in fact the fathers of all these feasting leaders had occupied the same positions. Nonetheless, informants always denied that the office was inherited; rather, the fact of succession was explained by the transmission of the necessary knowledge from father to son.

621 Australian domination added at once the role of village constable
622 to this somewhat acephalous pattern. One gathers from Monckton that
625 the village constable was chosen on the assumption that he had been
614 the traditional leader. How often that assumption was justified I do not know. In Inonda, he certainly was the Andiriha clan leader. In Sivepe, the situation was more complex. Until about 1939, Sivepe had no village constable of its own, but an Awala man was village constable for a wide area centred on Awala and including Sivepe. The first and only Sivepe village constable was a man now baptised under the name of Samuel but then called Jovareka. Jovareka appeared as witness to prove the innocence of two Sivepe men (from the Soho clan) who had been accused of murdering a small boy from Awala. He showed successfully that the village constable had trumped up a charge against the two Sivepe men and the government appointed Jovareka village constable in his place. Later, Jovareka's area was reduced to a more

479 plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establish-
443 ment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timuma clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

454 In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People
621 had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

471 The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular
439 arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the Bubi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affine.

571 Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-
(554) eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on
(177) two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted)
654 but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The
571 people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita were very much aware that the
623 position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

755 medicine, though by no means always. Bandages were especially popular;
752 they were worn as status symbols and as dancing ornaments. Nurses and
physicians are regarded with affection; any person who obviously wants
554 to be helpful would be treated thus, and it has of course been noticed
that they relieve a great deal of discomfort even though Western
753 theories of the causation of disease are treated sceptically and mostly
explained away because the nurses and physicians usually do not under-
stand the fine points of sorcery; only the Orokaiva have this knowledge.

731 Data on the eruption period do not suggest that the attitude
743 to medicine was different then to what it is today. There were,
however, fewer facilities: the hospitals were smaller, there was
less available transport to reach them with, the chain of aid posts
built by the Higaturu Council did not yet exist, so that outside the
government hospital, the only facilities were the mission stations.

744 The evacuation camps provided a good opportunity to put a
public health programme into operation, and this opportunity was taken.
No regular anti-malarial preventive treatment was given because this
clearly could not have been continued after the camps were closed--
and it was feared that anti-malarials might lower natural resistance.
On the other hand, everyone at Ilimo was given prophylactic treatment
against hookworm. Unfortunately, this medicine had the effect of
"making people feel a little drunk." One man, the sole male survivor
of a large family killed during the eruption, went berserk through the
medicine and caused a near riot. Mr. Kaad then abandoned his campaign
against hookworm at Ilimo, reviving it later, in the Saiho period.
Prophylactic treatment against hookworm has not been continued because
reinfection constantly occurs. The camps provided a practical object
lesson on the Western ideas of treating waste matters, sanitation and
water supplies, a lesson which no doubt bore fruit some years later,
when the Higaturu Council had money and an ideological base for bringing
[242] about such innovations. Finally, the introduction of sweet potatoes
at Ilimo, by means of distribution of sample tubers and seeds and the
[146] teaching of methods of cultivation, had a definite public health
objective: it was right because the yellow and red varieties of sweet
potato are particularly rich in vitamins of which Orokaiva diet is
supposed to be often deficient. Today, some of this sweet potato is
grown in Sivepa, though on a small scale, while plantings in Inonda
are somewhat more extensive. (The sweet potatoes resist drought better
than taro.)

The most active public health programmes I saw in 1966-67
were directed at: malaria control, infant health, village hygiene.
The key figure in public health improvement at Sivepa was the health
inspector employed by the Higaturu Council. This man was expected to
cover the whole of the Council area, and spent much of his time
touring villages. As his home was at Carumbi and he had many relatives
in Sivepa, he made frequent visits. Sivepa caused him little trouble,
he told me, as waste matter was thrown into deep holes, everyone had
a lavatory and the place was kept clean in the prescribed way. On

794 and sang hymns and gossiped. Once a week, or at least as many weeks
515 as there was no obstacle to holding a meeting, they went to women's club, did some sewing, discussed club affairs and played basketball. The older women did not like the basketball and were not interested in the innovations that were talked about in the club. They only attended women's club on special occasions. There was a contribution of 2/- per month which was generally paid only by the younger women.

Shortly after our arrival, a conflict developed between the club and the school. The head teacher objected to the noise made by the women, who spent the mornings sewing in the clubhouse which was on the station and then played basketball on the school ground in the afternoon. He could not get the students to pay attention to the lessons on the women's club day--which at that time was regularly every Tuesday. He suggested the women should build a club house away from the station. The pastor agreed with this suggestion, much to the rage of his wife, who was club president.

● [554] The effect of this altercation was a plan to build the club house in Sivepe, the nearest village, and play basketball there. The Sivepe women were delighted, as this greatly increased their status in the club, not only vis-à-vis the other villages, but also vis-à-vis the mission women, hitherto the aristocrats. For the next two weeks after this, the women met very frequently, as the decision to build in Sivepe, though wholly agreeable to the pastor, was mortifying to his wife and jealously regarded by the women from the other villages. At these meetings it was less important what was discussed than by whom they were boycotted. The mission women continued to argue against the decision for a further fortnight, with several meetings failing through lack of attendance. Meanwhile, school boys carried the materials of the old club house from the station down to their village, and Sivepe men cleared a handsome site for the club-house and erected the posts.

794 The mission women now withdrew from the club and asked for their
575 membership fees back, which they were given. It appeared that their
578 quarrel was not so much with Sivepe but with the Sasembata village
628 women. Most of the land used by mission teachers belonged to that village; the Sasembata women thought, with some justice, that the mission women were not sufficiently diligent in their garden work. It was customary for all school children to bring one taro to school each week and also each family brought some taro to Sunday service. This food was in part distributed among the mission teachers. The Sasembata women took the view that these gifts to teachers were necessitated only by the laziness of the teachers' wives. The latter countered this abuse with the argument I have already mentioned, viz. that it was necessary for coastal people to teach among the Orokaiva because the Orokaiva were too barbaric and ignorant to have teachers of their own.

The men soon lost interest in the building of the clubhouse. It was not easy to understand why they lost interest; when I asked them they pointed out that some of the houses in the New Sivepe had not

177 husbands of his sisters' daughters, as is customary. Most of all, he
623 was a careful man who put whatever he accumulated to the most prudent
471 use. In his capacity of clan leader and village leader, he controlled two corporate savings accounts, one of $158, the other smaller and secret; people had full confidence that deposits were entirely safe in his care. Though he would never express himself in such terms, he was actually leading his people into a state of solid and (hopefully) economically viable peasantry.

I asked him what he thought were the qualifications of a leader.
171 A leader, he said, must be very smart and understanding, have a lot
623 of garden and make a feast; then the people will join him. They don't appoint him but he stands out by his farming, gardening, feasts. He
[157] is usually an elderly man.

Not only Lawrence, but also all other informants insisted that leadership was not hereditary, even though a leader may desire a certain son to succeed him. After the old leader is dead, the living are free to make their own decision. Lawrence rejected the idea that the councillors are the present leaders of the community. The ancestors, he said, decided what people ought to do. They had talked all this over. Then the "two-bob councillors" came; all they care about is to carry out the government's orders. They don't really direct the people. All the same, Lawrence was well aware of the influence of the councillors. It was when they were established, he said, that the old way of thinking was upset. The village constable did not make important changes, though sometimes people went to jail for some trouble. In spite of these views, Lawrence went to no particular trouble to keep old customs alive; when he entertained Togahou village, there were far fewer ceremonial features than I saw at a feast at Inconda.

As an informant I found him entertaining but of limited useful-
115 ness. He was at first very reluctant, and later allowed himself to be interviewed, using the occasion as a battle of wits. Never once did he tell a direct lie, but his answers were cunningly planned with the intent to mislead. My part of the game was to get at the truth and in this game he was a most ingenious opponent. Sometimes he tried to conceal what seemed to me a most innocuous piece of information; thus, he alerted me to institutions I might otherwise have overlooked. No statement he made could be accepted on its face value. In this he differed from other informants less in intent than in ingenuity.

The other key personalities at the time of my visit were all
123 Jegasa. As I had been apportioned to my clan, they were much more
159 helpful with information. They adopted me as a sort of fictional clansman whereas to Lawrence I must have been a fictional affine. My closest associate in the village was actually the son-in-law Lawrence disliked, Robert, my neighbour. He was a man of about 32 who had most
[559] of the qualities admired by the Orokaiva: a fine dancer, with charm, modest bearing, wisdom and foresight in handling social situations and conflicts; he was generous with his possessions and did not importune others for gifts; he was a good gardener, builder and worker, ready

123 to help others; he spoke softly and gently but when necessary could be
554 firm and tough; furthermore, he had a relatively wide experience of
159 the outside world. He had been a hunting leader before this task was transferred to the representative of the church council; he was also a leader in football. He came of a lineage with small land holdings in the Sivepe area, but his father had bought rights to additional holdings (with money Robert had earned) and his mother's brother had given him the use of other blocks Robert will eventually inherit.

159 When we came to the district he had just started his new house and was living, like many others in a small older one he had brought from Old Sivepe. He sold us his new house and stayed in the smaller one until we had gone. Though his house was thus among the most primitive in the village, it attracted more village visitors than any other; Robert and his rather attractive wife were popular. When the women's club house was to be built, and when Lawrence had given the land, it was Robert to whom the women turned as a work leader. It was also Robert who decided that the work on the village houses and the mission hospital had more urgency (and that the clubhouse had better wait until it had ceased being a pawn in female factionism). Robert went to Port Moresby for a few months after a violent episode in his tumultuous marriage, hoping he would earn enough money to open a trade store.

He had about four years of working experience outside the village, as a houseboy, with the A.P.C. and on road work. Since then it was his ambition to start in business; in the early sixties, Jegase seems to have made some attempt at a trade store with disastrous results. He hoped to do better the next time, but a trade store opened up in an offshoot of Sasembata village just next to Sivepe, so that this is destined to remain a dream. Robert composed several songs over the year, and was constantly practising his drum. People usually waited for him before a dance practise could start, though he was not formally the dance leader. He also managed all the diplomatic manoeuvers necessitated by our presence. He did this with great honesty; I [123 could always rely on all he said. Indeed, if it had not been for him [115 and his father, I wonder whether I could have come to grips with Sivepe at all. He also piloted us through the maze of the Orokaiva exchange system. He was the only person who never imposed on us, never asked for gifts. There was perhaps some calculation in this, as we were more disposed to respond to generosity than to the sharp trading engaged in by some others.

He had stood as a candidate for the council two years earlier but had been defeated, partly due to opposition from his affines. His first formal leadership role (apart from hunting and football) was as representative for Sivepe on the land adjudication committee. His father-in-law would have been better qualified, as he knew the land boundaries better, but he could not hold both committee posts simultaneously. It was interesting to see that in this situation, where the

622 growing in the village and these were consumed in a big feast 18 months or so after his death. There was much discussion, during these 18 months, as to who should follow Amos as leader; when I left, no decision had been made. He had himself designated the son of his elder brother who died during the eruption, but this man is a government driver, living in Popondetta. The people would prefer a local man for leader, but there is no suitable resident member of Amos' own hae. and in practice it seems that the question of leadership was debated not so much by the people at large but by the men of Amos' hae and Amos' wife's hae--the latter also coming from a prominent Horeopa family. Some leadership roles were meanwhile being carried on by an adoptive half-brother of Amos' wife. This man, a mission teacher who was head of the Hohorita school, and one of my best informants (Harold Meru), was in charge of the preparations for the coconut feast commemorating Amos' death, but he deferred to Amos' brother's son (Michael) on the day of the feast itself, when Michael came over from Popondetta.

622 While these problems over ceremonial leadership were being pondered, it was obvious that for most ordinary day-to-day decisions, 623 the most powerful man in the village was the councillor (Brian Aruha). Brian, though without any formal schooling, was employed by the government as an interpreter in the fifties. His employers formed a high opinion of him and it was probably not without their encouragement that he stood as a candidate for the Higaturu Council and was subsequently chosen by councillors as their chairman. In the view of senior government officials in Popondetta, Brian's knowledge of the history, activities and purposes of the council was unequalled in the district. He did not earn this reputation by craven conformity; indeed, I observed him at council meetings as a doughty opponent of the views of the government's advisory officer, even though he sometimes found himself arguing a strong case in a minority of one, for the other councillors tended to be rather deferential to the advisory officer.

622 Brian's power in Hohorita was much less absolute than Stephen's at Inonda because Hohorita has a far greater number of leading figures. 554 On the other hand, in the judging of disputes and in arranging the land conversion scheme described in earlier chapters, he wielded more power than any single person in Sivepa. In contrast with the Inonda and Sivepa leaders, Brian did not belong to the leading clan (Horeopa) nor to either of the other three well-represented clan groups. His real home was Soubou; at Amos' coconut feast he appeared as the leader of the dominant Soubou clan and in that capacity received gifts in recognition of services which this village had rendered after Amos' death--the traditional services expected from a neighbouring, closely-related village. Thus the power he wielded at Hohorita had the effect of spreading power beyond the dominant Horeopa clan, thus helping in the integration of the different clan groups.

622 Brian was assisted by a "committee" man who also came from one 624 of the smaller clan groups and who had at one time been a medical

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241 taro ancestress is usually described as discovering the taro in a lake
773 or other 'round water'. The demigod Totima comes closest to
824 providing a general model of the primeval world of the swidden agriculturist and pig-raiser. Like Prometheus he is a sacrificial figure.[16]

Totoima was at the origin of the feasting institution (though
577 there are other myths of the origin of feasting). It is here that
773 questions of moral values mostly arise as feasting (*ergo* peace making) is the moral act *par excellence*. A direct connection is laid between the virtue of settling conflict and of feasting on the one hand and the fertility and yield of the garden on the other,
241 as enemies are thought to ensorcell the gardens. Another important
596 factor was the 'care' (*simbari*) (a general term covering magical as well as technical aspects) taken of the garden. The eldest male of the extended family, as father of the land, had a special duty as regards
[769] *simbari*. Garden magic was, however, made by all married males; they also made gifts to ancestors, who were thought to live in gardens and be reborn from there.

554 The model of the virtuous man was he who shared out his produce
577 and made feasts (*hande embo*). Such a man would grow a surplus of food in a feasting garden. His power (*ivo*) would be manifest in the abundance of his pigs and taro. The model of the 'active man' would be the organizer of feasts in which the whole village participated (*kiti jigari embo*). Subordinate to him, but still high in reputation, would be experts at sorcery, healing, feather decoration and various forms of hunting, as well as those excelling in debate, rhetoric and diplomacy (*keari embo*).[17]

241 Identification occurred not only with crops, gods and ancestors,
774 but also with trees harbouring local spirits, plant emblems harbouring lineage ancestors, animal guardians and plant doubles which were kept in the garden (usually surrounded by medicinal herbs) and contained the owner's life spirit, or perhaps name-spirit for the man bore the plant's name. A more complex aspect of identification with pigs and feast gardens is that such produce is destined to be given away, i.e. the owner expects to lose control over it; yet the donor remains identified with it and it calls for a return.[18] The same is true for the range of manufactures (clothes, pots, ornaments) that change hands at feasts.

437 The pattern described here is characteristic of what Sahlins
436 (1974) called the domestic mode of production. Such a system produces, in his opinion, nothing but use values, even if they are 'exchanged' at feasts, for such 'exchange' is symbolically equivalent to a temporary extension of commensality. Slightly more complex

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241 461 Time is therefore a highly inappropriate measure of useful activity in Orokaiva gardens. Whether *simbari* is effective or ineffective does not depend just on the time spent. It depends on the warding off of sorcery and hence on ensuring one has no dangerous enemies. It depends on harmony in the family. It depends on avoiding straying pigs, not just by building fences but by being the kind of person into whose garden one does not want one's pigs to stray. The anthropological observer notices a certain selectiveness in Orokaiva pigs . . .

554 461 A great man, or a manager, is not always a gardener. He may be a sorcerer. But if he is a gardener he is a great gardener. He accomplishes his garden as a craftsman accomplishes a model, an ΕΙΔΟΣ, or as Orokaiva say, an *ove*. His image of the world is not dark like that of Hesiod or of Adam's curse. An Orokaiva informant once recorded for me on tape his version of the relevant portion of Genesis:

[773] [177] [539]

> "You will bear children, lift string bags, draw water; you will do all those things and be loaded down with sorrow, so He said; and then He spoke to her husband Adam thus: You will take the axe, cut the second growth, chop down the trees, lop off the branches. In the hot sun, in sorrow, with pain all over your body, you will labour hard." He said.
>
> He thereupon determined that Eve and Adam spoke thus: "This is the way we shall all wish to act on earth: our bodies will be painful from work; and the women as well as the men will be in pain and sorrow from hard work. And as our food will be prepared and ready we stay to eat. All right we did not know that God would not let us have what we had taken and eaten."
>
> Therefore God said to them: "Long will be the day of sorrow when you have sorrow, but when you have happy days you will be happy." So he said. Therefore we shall live in this way from now onwards . . ."

This interpretation is not, I believe, merely garbled. It is a clear message that the Orokaiva just will not understand why, after working hard in the sun, they should afterwards eat their bread or taro in sorrow. To them, this is not a mere question of how they would feel, but a moral matter. Whoever wrote the original of this text was obviously lacking in respect for bread or targo.

Daniel de Coppet (1976) rightly suggested gardening in Melanesia was a religious act, like a sacrament, as is also eating the produce. Whatever pain there may be is sacramentally transformed. Man feels his unity with the Taro goddess and also with the garden and the crop.

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Christ does not, like traditional work, have a palpable virtue such that the good man will succeed at it while the bad man will fail. Anyone at all can succeed at New Guinea wage labour – *wok mani tasol* as it is called in Neo-Melanesian.[23] Yet this money, when it enters the village gift exchange circuit, will establish claims to status on an equal footing with wealth available only to cultivators with real traditional power (*iwo*).

It is this anomaly that appears to have been coped with by the New Guinea gambling system. The game called *laki* (lucky) is supposedly a game of pure chance but if chance is with you it shows that a powerful ancestor is supporting you. Your luck at the game shows your spiritual resources just as luck at gardening shows this. It is the people with weaker ancestors who lose. Medicines are also used to improve luck, but they are secondary. Evidence for supranatural intervention is that the results of the game, instead of being random as one would expect from the rules, always favour the same individuals. Whether these individuals play honestly I cannot tell, as the game goes on day and night and only a very weak lantern is used at night, my tilley lamp being considered unsuitable.

Laki is played by Orokaiva especially when the coffee proceeds have just been distributed and generally whenever a large number of community members receive money from non-traditional sources simultaneously. Play may continue for several days without interruption, until all the money is cleaned up by a single winner. This redistribution restores the traditional status pattern disturbed by the culture hero Jesus Christ.

Playing cards are outlawed in Papua New Guinea; nobody is allowed legally to possess them or to import them. Though this legislation was a response to popular pressure, it was in the churches that the pressure was in fact generated. It is thus hoped that New Guineans will eventually allocate status on the basis of the mere possession of money. The total inefficacy of this government legislation shows that New Guineans have great difficulty in accepting this secularized concept of work and status. Magico-religious tests have the function of hallowing money. They also assert the supremacy of traditional work concepts over modern ones.

Alienation in the Creation of Use Values

It is especially the French Marxist africanists such as Terray, Meillassoux, Auge,[23] who have alerted us to the prevalence of exploitation in tribal or lineage-societies where anthropologists

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Newton. She points out that though, in general, people help each other without expecting payment in money, cash must be paid for activities where the employer expects to make a profit, i.e. where he is engaged in 'business'. There was a Youth Group who offered themselves for labour contracts but nobody "hired the group to build a house – a subsistence activity". Labour was "treated as a commodity" and used only to create exchange values.

Now, Newton suggests this was because such money-making "was seen as a corporate action and necessitated profit sharing". Thus, children were paid if they carried cash crops to market. They were, however, compensated according to age, rather than according to time and labour input. "Eldest sons and daughters received a large portion, as might senior shareholders in a family company."

Thus, people were doing exactly the same labour in the village as they were paid for outside. Outside, this labour was alienating because workers had no control over the product of their labour. In the village businesses, they did share control of the product. But, from the pay rates quoted by Newton, it is clear that the 'business' could never afford the rates allowed. Why this perpetual disproportion between the small yield and the large distribution to shareholders?

The common pattern in all the data I have quoted lies in the miraculous increase of which money is thought to be capable once it has been subjected to certain ritual practices which the Orokaiva call 'business'. These are rituals which work when practised on a taro shoot – it swells, it multiplies. Ever since the taro cult, taro is the model for multiplication.

But the problem thus posed is insoluble. How, indeed, could these businesses prosper? Only by paying the workers less, by giving no credit, by ensuring that one takes more money from the brothers in the village than they ever get back. Only, in fact, by their alienation. There are so few of them; they have so little – one must be greedy indeed to survive in those villages in business. But alienation is not part of their project. They want the businesses to succeed without alienation. It is in this that they are a religious rather than economic practice.

Thus it is not from ignorance that they fail. Furthermore, it is only the White observers and social scientists who see anything tragic in these failures. If the Orokaiva thought them tragic, they would stop setting them up again and again. Miss Newton rightly comments that you gain status even by, and especially by failing. Your business dies; its limbs or assets are spread among the multitude and increase exceedingly. It is a religious practice.[27]

121 13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.

14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.

114 15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A re-reanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.

16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).

554 597 305 17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.

114 18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).

19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasoa, i umbasoa, umo timbasoa; donda deire tapa amo aisi os eto tunga osaga umbasoa.' Ainge ena. Ainge ivu ta ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasoa, andage aisi oa eto i gaipi oa, pure firembasi oa; iji vevere tunga osago hamo memega re tapa pure gaiha aisi oa.' Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa andata emo ainge do aisi uje eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pure gaiha avo earoru. Eto donda matu nunuga ena avo indie inetera avo. Aravorute, ungo kiaekiae eto God na taekena avo umbuto India. Aravo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi ova.' Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue trora.*" Robert, Sivepe, 1966.

694 754 20. The text: "*Embo handa pirisi embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora.*" Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da pirisi embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porakau aravo pure puruna.*" Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.

245 21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)